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## I. The CLEAR Program and its Evaluation

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*A family took one wrong turn and because they were in the wrong place, gang members felt they had the right to shoot at them and .... kill an innocent child.*

- President Bill Clinton, 1996

The purpose of this report is to present an evaluation of the CLEAR anti-gang program through its first two phases of operations, a two and a half year period from early 1997 through the fall of 1999. It seeks to answer two general questions:

- 1) How well has CLEAR developed *organizationally* as a collaborative during this period?
- 2) What, if any, are the detectable *impacts* of the program?

This evaluation continues, and greatly enhances, the “case study” of CLEAR that began in early 1997.<sup>1</sup> Since that time, CLEAR has grown from one to six sites and from one million dollars in funding to an accumulation of over \$15 million. State funding for this evaluation, which covers the first three sites, permitted a refined assessment of the program.

### A. Description of the Program

The Los Angeles City/County Community Law Enforcement and Recovery program (CLEAR) was launched in November 1996 as part of President Clinton’s Anti-Gang Initiative (AGI) funded by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) of the U.S. Department of Justice. Sentiment for the initiative was fueled by the widely publicized gang killing in September 1995 of a 3-year-old girl. The first CLEAR site, in the Northeast Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) area in which the killing occurred, became fully operational in April 1997.

In the spring of 1998, state AB 853 and Local Law Enforcement Block Grant (LLEBG) funding permitted CLEAR to expand to two additional sites, in the Foothill and Pacific<sup>2</sup> LAPD areas. In the spring of 1999, state and federal funding were obtained to effect

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<sup>1</sup> Earlier evaluations – called “case studies” because they were mostly descriptive of program development as opposed to evaluations of specific objectives – were conducted by Lodestar in 1998 and 1999 (see Attachment 13).

[ insert map showing all 3 sites ]

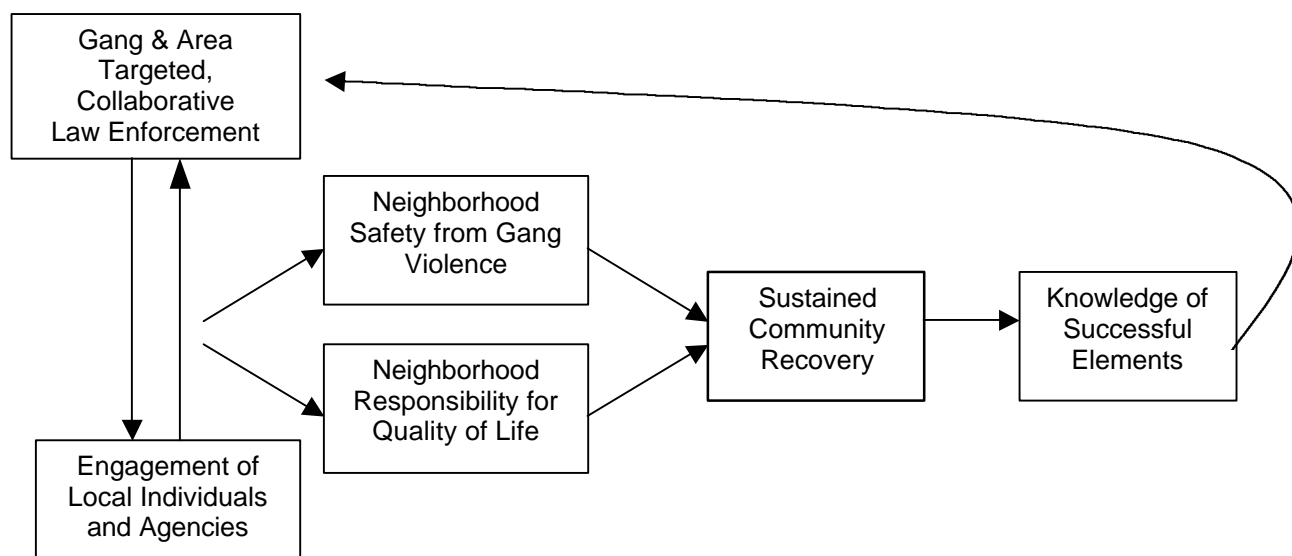
### Map I-1. The CLEAR Program's Three Phase II Sites

a second expansion to a total of six locations, adding Devonshire, Newton, and Century (also called Florencia), the first area outside the City of Los Angeles (see Attachment 1: Timeline; and Attachment 12: maps).

The primary goal of CLEAR is to aid in the **recovery** of gang-infested communities by decreasing the activity of **targeted gangs** in **designated geographic areas** by means of an effective **collaboration** among five City and County agencies, in collaboration with other agencies, programs and individuals in the targeted areas. The conceptual “logic model” for CLEAR – its major elements and their relationships – can be illustrated as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> To take advantage of greater opportunities for developing the CLEAR program, in September 1997 the Pacific site replaced the CLEAR site initially set up in the Wilshire area.



**Figure I.1. The CLEAR Logic Model**

As the logic model diagram indicates, the CLEAR program is a gang-specific, neighborhood-specific, dynamic combination of law enforcement (including prosecution) and local community engagement.<sup>3</sup> The immediate results – both neighborhood safety and the community taking responsibility for its quality of life – are seen as critical elements in a lasting neighborhood recovery from the effects of gang violence. An important additional element of the CLEAR logic model is using the lessons of this pilot program to improve current CLEAR sites and to help ensure successful replications elsewhere.

## 1. CLEAR's Gang Focus

Attachment 12 contains a series of six maps that describe, for each of the three Phase II CLEAR sites in turn, both program geographic boundaries (based on identified LAPD Reporting District) and boundaries of local gangs. The gang boundary maps cover a larger area than the program boundary maps in order to indicate which gangs are known to be inside and outside the target area. The following table lists the targeted gangs and other local gangs for each site.

<sup>3</sup> A “logic model” is a simplified theory of change – to use another terminology currently in vogue. Both try to summarize more elaborate theories of causation, such as that proposed by Bursik, et al. (1993) for neighborhoods and crime.

**Table I.1. Gangs Most Relevant to the CLEAR Sites**

	In Targeted Areas	Other Nearby Gangs
Northeast	Avenues, Cypress Park, Dogtown, Highland Park	18 <sup>th</sup> Street, Echo Park, Frogtown, KAW, Rascals, Pinoy Real
Foothill	Project Boys, Paca Flats, Humphrey Boys, Van Nuys Boys, Brownstone Locos, Pacoima Piru	Cayuga Street, Paca 13, Latin Times Pacoima, San Fers, Shaking Cat Midgets
Pacific	Venice Shoreline Crips, Venice 13, Culver City Boys	(none)

Table I.1 indicates a great diversity among the three CLEAR sites with regard to their gang profiles. Pacific and Northeast have the fewest number of gangs in their target areas: three for Pacific and four for Northeast versus six for Foothill.<sup>4</sup> Foothill and Northeast both have a large number of gangs in nearby areas (Pacific lists none).

In addition to the number of gangs, the history and types of gangs are quite different from one site to the other. Some salient differences include:

- Northeast (4 targeted gangs)
  - All Northeast area gangs are Hispanic, highly territorial and multigenerational
  - Avenues is the oldest (1940s), then Highland Park ('60s), Cypress Park ('70s) and Dogtown ('80s)
  - Avenues has strong ties with the Mexican Mafia ("M") and is the only local Northeast area gang dealing with narcotics
  - Within the Avenues gang, there is a major struggle between two families
- Foothill (7 targeted gangs)
  - All Foothill area gangs are Hispanic (mostly low-income and immigrant), highly territorial and multigenerational
  - Gangs have been in the area since the 1970s – somewhat later than Northeast – the oldest being Paca Flats and San Fers (outside the targeted areas)
  - There is very little drug activity with these gangs, except for a newer gang, Vaughn Street, which recently has been coming into the area

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<sup>4</sup> Paca 13, just outside the target area, is also seen as a targeted gang by the Foothill Operations Team.

- A great deal of gang activity occurs just outside the targeted area to the southwest
- Pacific (3 targeted gangs)
  - Unique to CLEAR, the Pacific site has two distinct sets of primary and secondary areas (discussed below), with two gangs in one area – one African American, one Hispanic – and one (Hispanic) in the other
  - More similar to Northeast than Foothill, gangs in Pacific have been there since the 1950s, when the public housing projects were built
  - Pacific has two gang injunctions; the other Phase II CLEAR areas have none
  - Gangs in the Pacific area are very heavily into drug trade, even inter-state trade, and have easy access to high powered guns

Generally, Northeast has the oldest and perhaps most stable gangs; Foothill the most diverse set of active gangs in the target area; and Pacific the most drug-involved. The profile for each is quite distinct although, in terms of gang activity, the Foothill area may have the least clear gang and geographic boundaries.

## 2. CLEAR's Geographic Focus

The nature of CLEAR's geographic focus is critical for two reasons: 1) targeting the deployment of program resources, and 2) the statistical analysis of CLEAR's impacts on crime. The first is important for operations; the second, for the evaluation. For both purposes, the geographic areas have been divided into three segments: primary, secondary and "balance," which can be defined as follows:

**Primary Area** – this is the set of 3-4 LAPD Reporting Districts (RDs)<sup>5</sup> that define the area given "first attention" by the Operations Team. They were chosen for having high gang activity. Primary areas range in size from just over 1 square mile in Pacific to 1.7 square miles in Northeast (see Table I.2, below). Pacific has two primary areas.

**Secondary Area** – this is the set of 5-9 RDs that define the area given "second attention" by the Operations team. They do not fully surround the primary area, but are contiguous to at least one side of the primary area (see the boundary maps in Attachment 12). Secondary areas are the most "touching" of their primary areas in Foothill, and most distant from them in Northeast. Pacific has two secondary areas.

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<sup>5</sup> The LAPD divides the City of Los Angeles into 6 Bureaus and 18 Areas or "Divisions," each containing approximately 50-60 Reporting Districts (RDs) – 1,008 total – the boundaries of which were based on census tracts.

**Balance Area** – this is the approximately 40-50 RDs in the LAPD Area not designated either primary or secondary. Although Operations Teams may be somewhat active in these areas from time to time, the balance Area is of particular importance for statistical comparison as an area of relatively little CLEAR activity.

It should be emphasized that these areas were originally designated *for the purpose of deploying CLEAR Operations Teams*, not for setting up comparison groups for the evaluation. (The value of these boundaries for statistical purposes is discussed later.) They also roughly define the areas from which most members of the CLEAR Community Impact Teams (CIT, described below) are drawn and the location of schools, social service agencies and other organizations that get involved in CLEAR's broader purposes.

It is important to note that neither primary nor secondary areas describe “neighborhoods” in any coherent way. They were not chosen as socially meaningful areas and are not known locally by any single place name. In fact, they are probably too large (1 to 2 square miles for primary areas alone) to expect local community members – residents and employees – to be very familiar with the entire area, even if they live near the center.

A number of important features describe similarities, and differences, among the three geographic areas of Phase II. These include the following comparisons of (a) the population and geographic sizes of each area, and (b) the gang-related crime rates per 100,000 residents and per square mile (also discussed in Section III, below).

Northeast has the largest primary and secondary areas, in terms of both population and geographic size. Pacific is the smallest in square miles for both areas, and in secondary area population. Foothill has the smallest primary area population. As mentioned earlier, these areas are much larger than single neighborhoods. The population *density* – number of thousands of residents per square mile – of the primary and secondary areas is highest in Pacific; lowest, in Foothill.

**Table I-2. Population and Geographic Size, by CLEAR Site & Target Area**

	Population (1990)			Square Miles			Density (1000 Pop/SqMi)		
	Primary	Sec.	Balance	Primary	Sec.	Balance	Primary	Sec.	Balance
Northeast	27,975	41,844	248,655	1.7	3.5	23.7	16.4	11.9	10.5
Foothill	16,676	33,034	263,283	1.2	3.1	57.2	14.0	10.5	4.6
Pacific	20,840	18,276	201,119	1.0	1.2	23.1	20.2	14.7	8.7

Perhaps more useful for our purposes, however, is the density of gang-related crime in these areas, as shown below for both population and geographic size using cumulative gang-related crime since 1994:

**Table I-3. Average Annual Gang-Related Crime Rates, by CLEAR Site and Target Area**

	Per 100,000 Population			Per Square Mile		
	Primary	Sec.	Balance	Primary	Sec.	Balance
Northeast	87.03	59.64	36.51	14.26	7.09	3.83
Foothill	72.22	58.57	24.04	10.08	6.18	1.11
Pacific	78.24	25.66	13.08	15.77	3.78	1.14

These data reveal dramatic differences in the rates of gang crime per population and geographic area across the three comparison areas examined for each site. The crime rates are much higher in primary areas than in secondary, and higher in secondary areas than in the balance of the broader LAPD area.

A final comparison of the community characteristics of the three CLEAR areas again highlights both similarities and differences:

- Northeast
  - An older, low-income Hispanic area, near downtown Los Angeles
  - Mostly residential with some commercial areas
- Foothill
  - A more recent low-income Hispanic area (including more immigrant); near an older African American community in Pacoima
  - Mostly residential with some commercial areas; some public housing
- Pacific
  - One Hispanic, one African American target area; both low-income
  - All residential in the targeted areas; some public housing

The differences among the three Phase II CLEAR sites may be important for understanding gang behavior, both before and after the CLEAR program period. They will be examined again later in an attempt to explain differences in crime outcomes for CLEAR across the three sites.

### **3. CLEAR's Organizational Structure**

#### **The Core Collaborative**

The five City and County law enforcement departments that form the core CLEAR collaborative are (see Attachment 2: Organization Chart):

- ◆ Los Angeles City Police Department (LAPD)
- ◆ Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD)
- ◆ Los Angeles County Probation Department
- ◆ Los Angeles City Attorney's Office (CA)
- ◆ Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office (DA)

All five agencies have been involved with the program since its inception, and all have been instrumental in obtaining funding and other support for the CLEAR program. These agencies form the core of the Executive Committee as well as each site's Operations Team.<sup>6</sup>

#### **Additional Core Agencies**

Three additional agencies, while not funded for operations, also played key roles in the original conceptualization of CLEAR and in securing program funds. Their continuing endorsement and support for CLEAR are essential to the program's health and continuity.

- ◆ City of Los Angeles Mayor's Office

The Criminal Justice Planning (CJP) unit of the Mayor's office is an active member of the CLEAR Executive Committee and fiscal agent for CLEAR. CJP representatives drafted the original CLEAR concept paper and proposals and have served as a critical resource to the Executive Committee for budgetary and procedural information.

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<sup>6</sup> The roles of these agencies in CLEAR are also described in Section I-D on compliance with AB 853.



- ◆ Los Angeles City Council Offices

City Council office members or their deputies from Council Districts within which CLEAR sites are located are invited to participate on the CLEAR Executive Committee and Operations Teams. They are also asked to be key members of CLEAR Community Impact Teams that exist in their respective districts. CLEAR CITs are strongest when Council offices provide connections between the CIT and public services in their area.

- ◆ Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors

Representatives from County Supervisor offices are invited to participate on the CLEAR Executive Committee and on CLEAR Operations Teams that exist in their respective districts.

## **Executive, Operations and Community Components**

CLEAR's executive, policy, management, operations and community engagement functions are distributed among three organizational components: a single **Executive Committee** – with its Administrative Office – and, for each CLEAR site, an **Operations Team** and a **Community Impact Team**. Each site also engages, as needed, affiliated law enforcement and community agencies. (See Attachment 3 for a list of all CLEAR executive and operational personnel, by position.)

**The Executive Committee** is a policy and oversight body of *administrative*-level representatives from each of the five core funded departments, plus the City of Los Angeles Mayor's office and City Council and County Supervisor offices that cover CLEAR-targeted areas. The Executive Committee appoints and oversees the CLEAR Administrative Office as well as each of the respective department's personnel on the Operations Teams.

**The Operations Team**, located at each CLEAR operational site, is comprised of *operations*-level representatives (e.g., LAPD detectives, deputy probation officers, LASD crime analyst, deputy City Attorney and District Attorney) from each of the core agencies. (One law enforcement agency – either LAPD or LASD – is present and provides the chair for the Team.) The Operations Team is responsible for conducting and coordinating CLEAR's day-to-day field operations.

**The Community Impact Team** (CIT), located at each CLEAR operational site, is comprised of area residents, representatives of community agencies, business people and other stakeholders. Its basic function is to link CLEAR with the community and to assist the Operations Team members in identifying and addressing gang and nuisance problems.

The location of the Operations Team in a common facility near the targeted neighborhood fosters coordinated inter-agency response to gang activity and accessibility to community members and institutions.

Either the LAPD or LASD, and each of the other four agencies, are co-located (i.e., have, at least useable desk space) at each site in order to facilitate communication and the coordination of activities. The Sheriff's Department staff provides data services and supplementary crime analysis, suspect identification and mapping services<sup>7</sup> for all CLEAR locations. The LASD locates law enforcement staff only at one of the newer sites (Century).

The LASD and District Attorney have had, since the program began, an Unsolved Homicide Unit stationed at an independent location. With Phase III, the LAPD also has personnel assigned to a coordinated Unsolved Homicide Unit at the same location. In addition, with Phase III the LAPD has assigned CLEAR liaisons who work with all sites, offering surveillance, assistance with jail intelligence and other program-wide services.

## **B. Selected Milestones**

A number of milestones or "critical events" mark the brief history of CLEAR. Some especially important milestones for the development of organizational capacity include:

### **1996**

- Phase I is funded in the Northeast LAPD area
- The first Operations Team and Community Impact Team begin to develop structure and methods of operation

### **1997**

- Northeast CLEAR Operations Team co-locates at a community site that is also used for Executive Committee meetings
- First truancy sweeps and community programs (100 Murals) occur

### **1998**

- Phase II begins in April with two new sites: Foothill and Wilshire, which is replaced by Pacific after 6 months
- First multi-site training occurs

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<sup>7</sup> Each LAPD station also has crime analysis and CAD capability, which is used extensively by CLEAR staff.

## **1999**

- Phase III begins in April with three new sites: Devonshire, Newton, and Century (LASD area)
- The CLEAR Executive Committee creates an Administrative Office
- Monthly tracking forms are implemented and a program manual is developed
- Several significant personnel additions and shifts in assignments occurred at the Executive and Operations Team levels
- STEP (Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention) Act<sup>8</sup> enforcement and gang injunctions (Pacific site) become tools for CLEAR

### **C. Evaluation Methodology**

Program evaluation methodologies must be chosen to fit the program under study. Because CLEAR is a pilot program – that is, one that evolves in definition and detail as the program progresses – a variety of qualitative and quantitative data gathering, analytic and presentation procedures were used in this study. CLEAR's data gathering procedures included the following:

1. Structured and informal observations and discussions about policy, operations and results were conducted with members of the Executive Committee, Operations Teams (all three sites) and the Community Impact Teams (Northeast and Foothill); this involved group and individual meetings.
2. Community members of the Community Impact Teams (CITs) were interviewed about crime perceptions and quality of life issues, both as individuals and in focus groups.
3. Electronic files and printouts of gang-related, Part I, and Part II crime data were obtained from the LAPD and analyzed by Lodestar.
4. Financial data on program expenditures were obtained from the Los Angeles City Mayor's Office, the Los Angeles County Administrative Office, and directly from participating core agencies.
5. Criminologists, including gang and cost-benefit specialists, were consulted regarding overall project design, analytic procedures and the interpretation of findings, including crime trends and cost-benefit analyses.

Analytic techniques have included data aggregation and the creation of moving averages and rates. A multivariate regression analysis has been used to estimate crime trends and

monetary benefits. Data tables and charts are used to present data and data summaries. In order to conduct a detailed cost-benefit analysis within the budget of the project, procedures for estimating cost focused on victim costs, supplemented by additional cost and benefit data that were most readily available.

#### **D. Structural Compliance with AB 853**

State Assembly Bill 853, which funded the bulk of CLEAR's Phase II, mandated a number of requirements for the program's structure and operations. Many of them ask for inter-agency collaboration or for associated infrastructure. A brief overview of CLEAR's compliance with the five pertinent sections of the Penal Code provides a useful goals-based evaluation of the structure and operations of the CLEAR program. The referenced Penal Code sections are found in Attachment 15.

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<sup>8</sup> Section 186.22 of the California Penal Code.

## **Table I-4. CLEAR Program Compliance with AB 853**

### **1. The Multiagency Collaborative (Section 14000)**

- a) CLEAR (Phase II) was set up as described: a multiagency gang intervention demonstration project, administered by the five designated agencies.
- b) As required, CLEAR provided a flexible and coordinated response to street gang crime, addressing each community's gang problems and identifying gangs associated with each community. It did not focus on the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Gang "in particular," as that gang was not active in the CLEAR areas during this period.

### **2. The Role of Each Party to the Agreement (Section 14001)**

- All parties engaged in collaborative activities at executive and operational levels.
- During 1999, a comprehensive system was developed to track and report program activities. Coordination with prevention and intervention programs also occurred, most fully at Northeast CLEAR.

#### **a) The County District Attorney (DA)**

- (1) A DA Coordinator has chaired the CLEAR Executive Committee from its inception and staffing for coordination was greatly enhanced early in 1999 with the addition of an administrative office.
- (2) Training in basic CLEAR and other strategies (e.g., enforcing the STEP Act anti-gang legislation, using the DOJ CalGang gang member tracking system) has been provided, with materials; a Program Manual developed and other materials (e.g., parolee lists, maps) regularly distributed.
- (3) Prosecutors tracked and reported CLEAR prosecutions at each site.
- (4) Vertical prosecution is a hallmark of CLEAR; cross-designation was felt to be necessary and used only at the Foothill site for Phases I and II; civil gang injunctions were determined necessary and used only at Pacific CLEAR.
- (5) For Phase II sites, CLEAR has to-date taken part in enforcing civil gang injunctions at Pacific CLEAR only.
- (6) Coordination with prevention and intervention strategies has occurred most fully at Northeast CLEAR. A new opportunity has been created at Foothill CLEAR for coordinating with a school-based prevention program.

#### **b) The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD)**

- (1) The CLEAR Unsolved Homicide Unit and the CLEAR sites have taken considerable advantage of jail and prison intelligence provided by the LASD and have worked with two LAPD CLEAR liaisons.
- (2) The LASD crime analyst gathers, organizes and distributes crime information to each of the CLEAR sites on a regular basis.

**c) The County Probation Department**

- (1) CLEAR-assigned Deputy Probation Officers (DPOs) have reduced case loads specifically for gang members in their target area.
- (2) CLEAR DPOs at Pacific and Foothill have met with school representatives about gang interventions; the Northeast CLEAR DPO sits on a “multidisciplinary team” with human service agency and law enforcement representatives.
- (3) CLEAR DPOs enforce terms of probation and conduct probation searches and truancy and curfew sweeps, often in concert with the LAPD and school officials.
- (4) CLEAR DPOs regularly provide law enforcement with information about the probationary status of area gang members.

**d) The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD)**

- (1) LAPD provides intensive law enforcement in areas most impacted by criminal street gangs.
- (2) LAPD coordinates gang information with LASD and Probation through LAPD CLEAR Liaisons and with the LASD Crime Analyst, including connections with Parole.

**e) The Los Angeles City Attorney (CA)**

- (1) The CA prosecutes gang misdemeanor criminal offenses at all sites.
- (2) The CA coordinates civil building abatement and nuisance abatement activities at all sites, through the local CIT and directly with the assistance of City Council offices and public agencies.
- (3) CAs at all sites are conducting vertical prosecutions of gang member misdemeanor activities.

**3. Mobile Response Units (Section 14002)**

These units – called Operations Teams since early in Phase I – function out of a central location near each CLEAR site.

**4. Working with Other Organizations (Section 14003)**

- a) Assistance is solicited from local school police, ATF, HUD, FBI, state parole, CYA and others for a number of purposes.
- b) CLEAR coordinates regularly with community members and agencies, primarily through the CIT and special program involvements, to exchange information and respond to community needs.

**5. Community Impact Teams (Section 14004)**

Active Community Impact Teams are well-established in Northeast and Foothill and are developing well in Pacific.

In summary, CLEAR has been in compliance with the requirements of AB 853 for collaborative structure and operations. Section 14005 of the Penal Code asks for an independent evaluation of CLEAR – which produced this report. Specific requirements for the content of the evaluation are discussed, and met, in the next two sections of this report.